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ABSTRACT

The long-term adjustment problems of individuals who were removed by force from their place of residence due to the government acquisition of their property are examined. Data were derived from a study of 185 families and individuals displaced by the construction of the Carr Fork Reservoir project in rural, eastern Kentucky. Although many of the respondents visited friends and relatives less often, went on fewer family outings, and said that making friends at the new location was more difficult, the findings indicate that the respondents adjusted fairly well to the change. Although interpersonal relationships were disrupted, and some inconvenience was manifest, the effect of the forced move was minimal. Despite the theoretical and empirical base for predicting that age would be an important factor in the adjustment of families to relocation, the results reported are inconclusive. Overall, the effect of relocation appears to be constant, and there appears to be little difference in the distribution of the adjustment items over time. These findings are attributed to the ability of the relocated households to find replacement property in or near the county from which they were relocated. (Author/DE)

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LONG-TERM AND AGE-RELATED ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH FORCED RELOCATION IN EMINENT DOMAIN CASES

by

Joseph F. Donnermeyer and Peter F. Korsching

ABSTRACT

This paper will explore the long-term adjustment problems of households and unrelated individuals forcibly relocated in eminent domain cases. Age was considered an important factor in the adjustment process. Adjustment was found not to vary over time, and there was little difference in the amount of adjustment of households by age. These findings are attributed to the ability of the relocated households to find replacement property in or near the county from which they were relocated.

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INTRODUCTION

The forced removal of persons from their place of residence due to the government acquisition of property is, at the very least, an extraordinary event. That is, forced relocation is a unique occurrence, something unusual in comparison to the everyday, mundane course of most of an individual's life. It is for this reason that a forced geographic move is usually a traumatic event, and may cause both temporary and relatively permanent adjustment problems.

There has been a great deal of research on the psychological and social stress of forced relocation (Gans, 1962; Fried, 1964; 1966; Ludtke and Burdge, 1971; Napier, 1972; Donnermeyer, Korsching, and Burdge, 1973). Most of these investigations have indeed verified that forced relocation often results in substantial psychological and social maladjustment; costs to these impacted households for which they are rarely compensated in full. However, these studies have failed to focus on the long-range aspects of the problem. Most generalize beyond their data and conclude that the effects of relocation are likely to have lasting consequences.

This paper considers the issue of the long-term adjustment problems resulting from forced relocation through examination of the displaced household's assessment of the relocation situation relative to the length of time since the move to the new residence has taken place. Adjustment over time will also be considered in terms of its age-relatedness, that is, how differential housing and social needs of young versus older households affect adjustment patterns.

FORCED RELOCATION DEFINED

Forced relocation resulting from the government's acquisition of property may be considered as a special type of migration. Briefly, it may be defined as a permanent change of residence that is involuntary (Donnermeyer, 1975:13). It is involuntary because the migrating unit (whether an individual, a household, or larger groups such as towns, villages, or tribes) is "compelled" to move by the power of the state or the existing political governing structure of a particular country or territory (Ludtke & Burdge, 1970:3).

Individuals may also be forced to move because of other causes, for instance, natural disasters, flight from invading armies, and incarceration resulting from criminal activities or the political whims, proclivities and biases of tyrannical governments (Ludtke and Burdge, 1970:2-3; Donnermeyer, 1975: 9-12).

Forced relocation differs from these in several respects. Unlike natural disasters, relocation is a forced movement where the decision to move has been transferred from the migrating unit to the state, and is usually vested in a constitution or other articles of state. Relocation, in other words, is "man-made." In contrast to imprisonment or the retention of persons in concentration camps (as vividly portrayed, for example, in Alexandr I. Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago, 1918 - 1958), relocation

only forces the individual to move. It does not, as such, pre-determine where the individual is to move. Unlike imprisonment, therefore, forced relocation refers solely to moves where the choice of a new location is left up to the migrant.

In the United States, the power by which federal, state, and local governments may forcibly remove persons from their place of residence in cases of property acquisition is called "eminent domain." It is found in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, and is stated as follows: ". . . nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." The power of eminent domain may therefore be used whenever governmental units or their representative agencies initiate planned change with consequences defined as resulting in some benefit for the public ("public use"), and whose full implementation necessitates the displacement of households from the project area.

Note, however, that the power of eminent domain is concurrent with the obligation of just compensation. This means that the government may not "impose penalties" on the individual citizen when exercising this power (Crouch, 1964:4; Goebel, et. al., 1970:742 - 746). Compensation has traditionally been in the form of monetary payment for property as well as other relocation - related or resettlement expenses (i.e., time off work to search for a residence).

Each year thousands of persons are forced to relocate and find new homes in order to facilitate the construction of highways, the building of reservoirs, the clearance of slums, the renewal of large tracts of urban land, and a thousand other projects which are defined as being for the greater good of the general public. Using estimates from a House Select Subcommittee on Real Property Acquisition, Committee on Public Works report on displacement from urban renewal and highway construction, (Downs 1970: 219-220) determined that in an eight year period from 1964-1972, about 1.9 million persons, or close to 2% of the population of the United States, were forced to relocate. This certainly illustrates the extensiveness and national impact of forced relocation, as well as the expense to the government in the form of compensation. Yet many scholars who have studied the impact of the move on relocated households claim that compensation is not in full (Hartman, 1963; 1966; Fried, 1964; 1966; Downs, 1970; Goebel et. al., 1970). In other words, relocation often results in costs to the relocatee for which he receives no compensation. In simple terms, the use of the power of eminent domain in land acquisition and forcible removal of individuals from these properties, results in the imposition of "penalties" upon them.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE PROBLEM

The situations surrounding forced relocation and voluntary mobility are vastly different. Voluntary or free migration may occur for a large number of reasons. Most of the reasons that people move, according to Rossi (1955:9), are generally indicative of the fact that mobility is ". . . process by which families adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life cycle changes." Statistics from both the census and survey research

clearly support the conclusion that mobility is likely to occur among younger persons as they move out of the parental home, find a suitable livelihood, marry, and have children (Rossi, 1955:9; Green, Bender, and Campbell, 1970: 14-16; Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam, 1971: 111-114). Voluntary mobility is based upon the interaction of the factors of dwelling needs of the household unit with its present housing condition. If there is a disjunction of needs to the present situation (i.e., with an increase in family size the couple moves out of an apartment and buys a house with more space), then dissatisfaction with the present location develops and is likely to crystallize into an intention to move. The move itself is conditional, of course, on other factors, both economic (such as total family income, the condition of the housing market, the availability of credit, etc.), and non-economic factors (such as ties to the local community or to kin) (Uhlenberg, 1973:309).

Voluntary mobility, therefore, is a "conscious choice among alternatives" (Rossi, 1955:124). On the other hand, forced relocation does not allow the individual to participate in this reasoning process. The individual is told that the move is necessary because the government needs his property for the greater benefit of the general public. He must then face the prospect of the inevitable and attempt to rationalize or justify that the cause of his impending move does, in fact, result in an increase in the public welfare. This is not always a simple matter, As Niebanck and Pope (1965: vii) explain:

> If the unit were being taken to defend the population from an imminent and palpable danger, or if the land were to be used for an obvious public improvement such as a school or court house, we might expect to encounter resentment and annoyance, but compliance would probably occur without too much difficulty. But if the family is being told to move from a home that it enjoys, in an area that it likes in order to make life more pleasant or convenient for others, then it is not astonishing to find that a range of negative emotions, hostilities, fears, and antagonisms are manifested.

Niebanck and Pope mean by projects "to make life more pleasant or convenient for others" such public ventures as water impoundment for recreational development, super-highways which provide faster transportation from the suburbs to the downtown area, and the construction of sports arenas, convention centers, or other projects designed to increase civic pride. Often such projects are indeed difficult to justify in view of the disruptive potential via the fact of relocation. But even urban renewal, which usually enjoys broad public support, is often viewed in askance by those who are forced to move. As far as they are concerned they do not live in a slum and it does not need to be razed.

Forced relocation then, may result in maladjustment. Therefore, the first question to be considered is the extent or degree of maladjustment of displaced families in the post-relocation situation. Adjustment will next be examined in relation to the length of time passed since the move in order to specify its temporality. The relationship between adjustment and length of time since relocation is then tested relative to the variable of age.

Adjustment as here defined is derived from research on Appalachian migrant families by Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam (1971). In their work, migration was conceived as more than a geographic "shift," but was involuntary, involved some modification in the migrant's institutionalized ways of acting and thinking and this necessarily entailed some given amount of stress. "The resolution of these strains in a manner that enables individuals and groups to function adequately in terms of the demands of the interaction(migration) system is what we are calling adjustment (Schwarzweller, Brown, and Mangalam, 1971:95)."[1] This paper will be limited to analysis of two types of adjustment; adjustment in terms of perceived changes in housing quality of the new residence in comparison with the old, and perceived changes in interpersonal relationships. Both will be examined in order to indicate change has occurred with reference to the forced relocatee's institutionalized manner of acting and thinking.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this paper was derived from a study of families and individuals displaced due to the construction of the Carr Fork Reservoir project in Knott County, Kentucky. Knott County lies within the major coal-producing region of eastern Kentucky. By the census definition, it is totally rural, with Hindman, the county seat and largest town, having a 1970 population of only 808. Only 15% of the 14,689 residents of the county in 1970 were classified as r ral-farm. The rest were rural nonfarm. Knott County's topography is extremely rugged, being dissected by innumerable streams and steeply-sloping ridges and is not well-suited to agricultural pursuits. Flat, level, bottom land, with rich soil adequate for general farming, is at a premium.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was the agency responsible for both construction of the reservoir dam and relocation of the residents. Their records listed 265 households moved due to the Carr Fork impoundment. Of these, 233 relocated within Knott County or to nearby counties within eastern Kentucky. The other 32 moved out of the area, most to the metropolitan areas of Lexington and Louisville,Kentucky, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

Names and addresses of new location for each household were obtained from the Corps. The questionnaire schedule was administered through personal interviews from late July to late August, 1971. Each interviewer was instructed to administer the questionnaire to the head of

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[1] A more general definition of adjustment is given by Mangalam (1962: 14-15): "Adjustment is a dynamic state in which the actors in a given meaningful interactional system are able to live in relation to other numbers of their significant membership-groups, satisfying their basic needs, fulfilling the responsibilities of their major roles and realizing the value ends of the system while maintaining the identity and integrity of actors' individual selves.

household. However, this was not always possible, in which case the spouse of the household head was interviewed.

Interviews were difficult to obtain from the 32 families who had moved out of the eastern Kentucky region. Most had moved more than once since the relocation, and forwarding addresses were often not available. From these 32 families, only 15 interviews were completed.

Most of the families who remained in eastern Kentucky were more accessible. A large majority of these households still resided at the addresses listed in the Corps files. Of the 233 families who stayed in eastern Kentucky, 185 were interviewed, a completion rate of 79.4%. This paper will limit data analysis to these 185 respondents.

Data derived from the Corps files and the questionnaire schedule include a wide range of information about the process of relocation and some of the problems of adjustment (if any) that may have been encountered at the new residence. The data is of several general types: 1) background data on the respondents from the Corps files including date of resettlement, fair market value, appraisal of tract, and amount paid for property; 2) personal and social characteristics of the households, such as education, occupation, and age of all adult members, family income, and size of family; 3) information about their opinion toward the Corps and the Carr Fork Reservoir project, and 4) information on their perception of changes in their quality of life in the areas of economic well-being, housing, and their patterned or everyday activities.

FINDINGS

Table 1 presents the distribution of respones to perceived changes in interpersonal relationships. The first three items relate to specific sorts of activities. The respondents were asked to indicate if these occur "less," the "same," or "more" after relocation than before. Almost three-fifths of the respondents stated they visited friends less after relocation than before, while about 45% said they visited relatives less, and slightly more than one-third indicated a decrease in family type outings such as picnics, Sunday drives in the country etc. The fourth item related to the respondent's evaluation of his ability to establish new relationships at the new residence. Almost one-third said it was harder, but over 52% noticed no difference, and only one-tenth of the respondents claimed it was easier.

Despite what appears to be a decrease or maladjustment in terms of interpersonal activities among a majority of the respondents, only 19.2% who answered the fifth item in Table 1, their over-all adjustment to these changes, seem to have indicated a lack of adjustment. Apparently, although there has been a "loss" in this area of the respondent's lives, most have 'shifted' or adapted their institutionalized ways of thinking and acting to conform to the new situation. Many no longer expect to visit friends or relatives or to go on family outings as often as before relocation.

In Table 2 is presented the respondent's evaluation of change in housing quality. The first four items ask the respondont to rank or evaluate certain aspects of his new residence in comparison to his old. On each of these, most saw no difference, and some indicated an improvement in housing quality. The only appreciable change seems to be with the first item, number of rooms, in which almost 19% mentioned that the new residence had fewer rooms than the old, while 36.8% said there were more rooms at the new location.

Yet surprisingly, responses to the fifth item shows that 38.1% of the respondents were, to some degree, dissatisfied with the new residence. Specifically, they were asked: "Compared to your other home, are you very satisfied, moderately satisfied, moderately dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied." Apparently the first four items of Table 2 do not tap the true nature of some of the respondent's dissatisfaction.

This fifth item was followed-up by an open-ended question which asked the respondent to explain the reason for his satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Most who were dissatisfied mentioned such factors as the inconvenience of the new location to family, friends, stores, doctors, churches, etc., and the lack of a garden at the new location. Many also mentioned that the new house was smaller than the one in which they had formerly lived. Those who were satisfied with the new residence also gave, essentially, the same reasons.

These responses demonstrate that those who were least satisfied, were those who were not able to find an entirely suitable location in or around Knott County which fitted their own definition or set of standards on housing. Because of the county's topography, relatively level land is difficult to find. The relocation of over 200 families from the bottomland area along Carr Fork Creek served to exaggerate an already tight property and housing market. Many of the respondents chose to move 5, 10, 20 or more miles away to find satisfactory property, but then found they were not near to close kin, friends, and former neighbors, or could not afford to purchase a plot large enough for a small vegetable garden.

Adjustment Over Time

The next step in the analysis is the examination of the response distribution for the adjustment items over time. Average length of time since relocation was 1,297 days (almost 3 yrs., 9 mos.).[2] The range of days between relocation and the time of interview varied from a minimum of 101 days (about 3 mos.) to a maximum of 2,191 days (6 yrs., 1 day). Time since relocation for most of the respondents (76.1%) falls in a period of 2 to 5 years.

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[2]Length of time since relocation was determined by subtracting the date of settlement (obtained from the Corps files) from the date of interview. The exact date of interview was not recorded on the questionnaire schedule. Since all interviews were conducted in a one month period beginning the last week of July to the last week of August, the date of Auguest 15, 1975 was arbitrarily assigned as the date of interview. This procedure results in an actual error in length of time between relocation and the true interview date of 1 to about 15 days. This is not a significant error, and should not adversely affect the validity of the findings.

Table 3 presents a cross-tabulation of the length of time with the forced-choice adjustment items (the housing items were excluded because of the small number of cases in the "less/inferior" and "more/superior" categories). Chi-square values between length of time and each of the adjustment items are small, and do not meet the .05 criteria of significance. The size of the gamma values are likewise negligible.

These findings may be interpreted to mean that the relative adjustment of persons to forced relocation does not significantly vary over time. There is some decrease in the percent of respondents who answered less visiting with friends and relatives, and fewer family outings. However, in regard to the last three items in Table 3, there is a slight increase in the percent who found it harder to make friends at the new location, answered they have adjusted poorly to over-all changes in their interpersonal relationships, or are dissatisfied with the new residence. But these percentages return in the third time period (1517-2191 days) to their first period level (101-1095 days).

Age and Adjustment

Occasionally, the mass media, in either the radio, the television, or the newspaper, will devote some time or space to a story on urban renewal or other developments within their listening or reader area. Often, a proportion of the story will focus on the angry residents of the project area who are forced to move due to the project. It generally makes a "good cover" to interview an elderly person, preferrably someone who has lived there all his life, for it brings across to the viewer or reader of the story, the potential harm relocation might have. Social science research into the potential psychological and social harm of forced relocation likewise assumes, and the statistics often confirm, that older households, find it more difficult to adapt in the post-relocation situation (Goldstein and Zimmer, 1960; Pope and Niebanck, 1965; Downs, 1970). For instance, Donnermeyer, Korsching, and Burdge (1974) found a relation between age and whether or not the relocatee would blame a deterioration in financial status after versus before the forced move on the fact of relocation.

These studies seem to have a sound basis in the literature on the sociology of migration and aging. Rossi (1955-15) has demonstrated that most families have satisfactorily aligned their housing needs with their present housing situation sometime during the middle or late-middle age of the adult members of the household. By then, the family is not likely to increase in membership. With their housing needs solved, the family would likely be reluctant to submit to a forced move and have to contend with this problem again. For instance, Ludtke and Burdge (1970:110-111) found that relocatees who were psychologically most attached to their place of residence were more likely to be apprehensive about the impending move in the pre-relocation situation; and that age was correlated with this sense of attachment.

Research by Youmans (1973) offers a somewhat different explanation. Although there are differences between age groups in terms of a broad spectrum of normative and behavorial patterns (from political orientation to mobility behavior), according to Youmans, age is not the most crucial variable. Rather, cohort differences are "reflections of social change"

(Youmans, 1973:60). Each generation internalizes value and behaviorial orientations different from those of other generations and these are likely to reflect the socio-cultural and historical situation of the time.

It is then expected that older persons are less mobility-oriented because they grew up during a time when society did not as strongly encourage mobility, and when settling down in one place was a more desirable state of affairs. This explanation, coupled with the Rossi (1955) generalization that older families have already solved their housing problems, and the Ludtke and Burdge (1971) finding that older families are more psychologically attached to their place of residence, strongly suggests that age would be an important variable in predicting adjustment. Likewise, age should be a strong predictor of long-term adjustment. Specifically, younger relocatees should be more likely to be able to re-integrate or adjust and in a shorter period of time, than older relocatees in the post-relocation situation.

Table 4 presents the frequency distribution of the adjustment items with age. Chi-square values for five of the six items are low and not significant at the .05 level. However, age is significantly related to the variable over-all adjustment to changes. The gamma value for this relationship is -.39, which means that older respondents were more likely to feel less-adjusted at the new residence in terms of their interpersonal relationships than those respondents less than 60 years of age. This is not surprising, for respondents 60 years of age or older in each of the first four adjustment items did answer that there was a decrease in activities or that it was harder to make friends after relocation than before. Apparently, the slightly greater maladjustment of the older respondents on the first four items is somewhat cumulative. This tends to show up in a more likely probability for the respondents in the 60 years of age and older category to be aware of a general inability to adjust or live what they consider to be a satisfactory life style.

Table 5 presents the cross-tabulation of the adjustment items with time since relocation while controlling for age. Age has little effect in raising the degree of relationship between length of time and adjustment. It would be expected that younger persons would adjust sooner to a forced move. However, there seems to be little difference among the Carr Fork respondents by age over time on the adjustment items.

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSION

The findings on adjustment in regard to interpersonal behavior are in agreement with research by Napier(1972:787-792). Many of the respondents did indicate that they visit friends and relatives less often, go on fewer family outings, and have said that making friends at the new location is more difficult. However, most indicate they have adjusted fairly well to the change.

Since all of the respondents in the Carr Fork sample remained in the eastern Kentucky region, with most resettling in Knott County or counties immediately adjacent to it, the loss in frequency of interpersonal activities which did result appears not to have had a severely adverse impact. Therefore, they were not likely to answer that their overall adjustment to change in interpersonal activity was "poor".

Napier(1972) likewise found that families relocated by reservoir projects in southeastern Ohio and West Virginia expressed a dislike or annoyance at the fact of relocation, but did manifest a high degree of alienation. This he attributed to the ability of the relocated families to find a new residence near their former homes. Although interpersonal relationships were disrupted, and some inconvenience was manifest, the effect of the forced move was minimal.

This paper also found that dissatisfaction with the new residence was as much related to its convenience to friends, family, and essential community facilities, the presence of a garden and its amount of privacy, as to the quality of the house itself. This may be partially explained by the fact that measures of just compensation have been established which requires that the relocation agency pay fair market value for condemned property and attempt to find comparable replacement property for the relocated families.

Because of this, the respondents looked beyond physical condition of the new residence to less tangible qualities which, apparently, they were accustomed to at the old residence. Some were able to find a new residence which possessed such qualities, while others were not. Despite the theoretical and empirical base for predicting that age would be an important factor in the adjustment of families to relocation, the results reported here are inconclusive. Although there were small but non-significant percentage differences between respondents under 60 and those over 60 on the first four adjustment items (see Table 4), there was a significant relationship between age and over-all adjustment. Controlling for age did not affect the findings on the length of time relationship.

Over-all, the effect of relocation appears to be constant. There was little difference in the distribution of responses on the adjustment items over time. This seems to indicate that those families in the Carr Fork sample who found themselves inadequately adjusted in terms of their interpersonal activities and satisfaction with the new residence, tended to be unable to resolve their problems.

This points up an incorrectable shortcoming of the data. Most of the Carr Fork families relocated to a new residence at least 3 years before the time of relocation. There are simply an insufficient number of cases to evaluate the response of households to the forced move in the first weeks and months immediately after the move had occurred. Perhaps it is in this period that there is considerable difficulty in the relocated household's ability to adjust at the new residence. Studies by Gans (1962), Roberts (1968), Ludtke and Burdge (1970), Napier (1972) and Drucker, Smith and Reeves (1974) all point to this conclusion. Forced relocation is likely to result in symptoms of stress and annoyance in the early stages of the move, and often before the move actually takes place. The mere fact that a project is planned seems, in many cases, to cause considerable agitation among the affected population.

Further research on the effects of forced relocation must begin to study families as they move through the relocation process, from first notification of the impending move, through property acquisition and the subsequent move to a new location. But perhaps more than the need for longitudinal studies on the subject, there is a need to develop a comparative framework. Unlike the studies referred to above, a study involving research on a number of projects is necessary in order to control for various unique or situational factors, and identify the parameters which would be predictive of adjustment during various stages of the relocation process.

Table 1: Perceived Changes in Interpersonal Activities

Description	Less	Same	More	Total	No Response
VISITING WITH FRIENDS	110 (59.8%)	66 (35.9%)	8 (04.3%)	184 (100.0%)	1 --
VISITING WITH RELATIVES	82 (44.6%)	93 (50.5%)	9 (04.9%)	184 (100.0%)	1 --
NUMBER OF FAMILY OUTINGS	64 (35.8%)	100 (55.9%)	15 (08.4%)	179 (100.0%)	--

	Harder	Same	Easier	Total	No Response
MAKING FRIENDS AT NEW LOCATION	55 (32.7%)	96 (57.1%)	17 (10.1%)	168 (100.0%)	17 --

	Not At All	Poor	Moderately Well	Very Well	Total	No Response
ADJUSTMENT TO CHANGES	11 (06.0%)	24 (13.2%)	72 (39.6%)	75 (41.2%)	182 (100.0%)	3 --

Table 2: Perceived Changes in Housing Quality

Description	Less Inferior	Same	More Superior	Total	No Response
NUMBER OF OF ROOMS	35 (18.9%)	82 (44.3%)	68 (36.8%)	185 (100.0%)	0 --
RUNNING WATER	10 (05.4%)	150 (81.1%)	23 (13.5%)	185 (100.0%)	0 --
FLUSH TOILET	7 (03.8%)	150 (81.1%)	28 (15.1%)	185 (100.0%)	0 --
ELECTRICITY	2 (10.1%)	181 (97.6%)	2 (01.1%)	185 (100.0%)	0 --

	Very Dissatisfied	Moderately Dissatisfied	Moderately Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Total	No Response
OVER-ALL SATISFACTION WITH THE NEW RESIDENCE	34 (18.8%)	35 (19.3%)	62 (34.3%)	50 (27.6%)	181 (100.0%)	4 --

Reasons for Over-All Satisfaction With New Residence

	Satisfaction	Dissatisfaction	Total
1) Garden	2(01.1%)	11(06.3%)	13(07.4%)
2) Convenience	38(21.7%)	35(19.9%)	73(41.6%)
3) Neighborhood	13(07.4%)	3(01.7%)	16(09.1%)
4) Condition of House	11(06.3%)	10(05.7%)	21(12.0%)
5) Privacy	5(02.8%)	5(02.8%)	10(05.6%)
6) In General: Not Specified	15(08.5%)	11(06.3%)	26(14.8%)
7) Other	3(01.7%)	14(08.0%)	17(09.6%)
Total	87(49.7%)	89(50.6%)	176(100.0%)
No Response			9(--)

Table 3: Distribution of Adjustment Items by Number of Days Since Relocation

Description	101-1095* (¼ yr-3 yrs.)	1096-1516 (3 yrs.-4 1/6 yrs.)	1517-2191 (4 1/6 yrs.-6 yrs.)	Total	No Response	Gamma	Chi-Square	df	Significance Level
LESS VISITING** WITH FRIENDS	39 (66.1%)	32 (55.2%)	35 (55.6%)	180	5	.14	1.89	2	.389
LESS VISITING** WITH RELATIVES	30 (50.8%)	26 (44.8%)	23 (36.5%)	180	5	.19	2.57	2	.276
FEWER FAMILY** OUTINGS	23 (41.1%)	18 (32.1%)	19 (30.2%)	175	10	.16	1.73	2	.42
HARDER TO MAKE FRIENDS AT NEW LOCATION	15 (28.8%)	18 (34.6%)	19 (31.7%)	164	19	.02	2.16	4	.70
POOR ADJUSTMENT** TO CHANGE	10 (16.9%)	14 (24.6%)	10 (16.1%)	178	7	.02	1.63	2	.44
DISSATISFACTION** WITH THE NEW RESIDENCE	38 (65.5%)	34 (59.6%)	39 (62.9%)	177	8	-.04	0.43	2	.80

*Each category of the variable number of days since relocation contains approximately 33.3% of the total number of cases (N= 185). There was no theoretical rationale which could be found in the vaailable literature that might offer an alternative classifactory scheme. The distribution of cases was heavily skewed to 3-5 years.(1,095-1,825 days) between the date of relocation and time of interview, making it impractical to groups cases into half-year or full year intervals. As a methodological rule of thumb, the categories were set up to have approximately equal number of cases.

**The categories of "more" and "some" were combined for the variables of visiting with friends, visiting with relatives, and number of family outings, which reduced degrees of freedom to 2. The "not at all" and "poor" categories and the "moderately Well" and "very well" categories for the variable over-all adjustment to changes were respectively combined. Finally, the "very dissatisfied" and "moderately dissatisfied" and"moderately satisfied" and "very satisfied" categories of the satisfaction with the new residence variable were likewise collapsed together.

Table 4: Distribution of Adjustment Items by Age of Respondent

Description	Age: Under 60	Age: 60 and Over	Total	No Response	Gamma	Chi-Square	df	Significance Level
LESS VISITING** WITH RELATIVES	56 (50.9%)	54 (60.0%)	184	1	-.008	.008	1	.927
LESS VISITING** WITH FRIENDS	37 (39.4%)	45 (50.0%)	184	1	-.21	1.69	1	.193
FEWER FAMILY** OUTINGS	32 (34.4%)	32 (37.2%)	179	6	-.06	0.05	1	.810
HARDER TO MAKE FRIENDS AT NEW LOCATION	28 (31.5%)	27 (34.2%)	168	17	-.07	0.033	2	.84
POOR ADJUSTMENT** TO CHANGES	12 (13.0%)	23 (25.6%)	182	3	-.39	3.81	1	.050
DISSATISFACTION** WITH NEW RESIDENCE	60 (64.5%)	52 (59.1%)	181	4	-.11	0.36	1	.550

**See footnote, Table 3

Tables 5: Distribution of Adjustment Items by Number of Days Since Relocation, Controlling for Age

Description	101-1095* (¼yr.-3yrs.)	1096-1576 (3yrs.-41/6 yrs.)	1517-2191 (41/6yrs.-6yrs.)	Total	No Response	Gamma	Chi-Square	df	Level
A) Less than 60 years									
LESS VISITING** WITH FRIENDS	21 (75.0%)	17 (48.6%)	16 (55.2%)	92	5	.25	4.70	2	.095
LESS VISITING** WITH RELATIVES	14 (50.0%)	13 (37.1%)	9 (31.0%)	92	5	.25	2.24	2	.326
FEWER FAMILY** OUTINGS	13 (48.1%)	9 (25.7%)	9 (27.6%)	91	10	.28	4.03	2	.133
HARDER TO MAKE FRIENDS	7 (25.9%)	10 (31.3%)	7 (35.7%)	87	21	-.07	1.25	4	.870
POOR ADJUSTMENT **DO CHANGE	3 (10.7%)	5 (14.7%)	3 (10.7%)	90	7	.00	0.31	2	.855
DISSATISFACTION** WITH NEW RESIDENCE	9 (32.1%)	13 (38.2%)	10 (34.5%)	91	8	.03	0.26	2	.879
B) 60 Years and Over									
LESS VISITING** WITH FRIENDS	18 (58.1%)	15 (65.2%)	19 (55.9%)	88	5	.04	0.52	2	.775
LESS VISITING** WITH RELATIVES	16 (51.6%)	13 (56.5%)	14 (41.2%)	88	5	.15	1.44	2	.487
FEWER** FAMILY OUTINGS	10 (34.5%)	9 (42.9%)	11 (32.4%)	84	10	.04	0.65	2	.721
HARDER TO MAKE FRIENDS	8 (32.0%)	8 (40.0%)	9 (28.1%)	77	21	.12	2.05	4	.725
ADJUSTMENT** TO CHANGES	7 (22.6%)	9 (39.1%)	7 (20.6%)	88	10	.05	2.76	2	.25
DISSATISFACTION** WITH NEW RESIDENCE	11 (36.7%)	10 (43.5%)	13 (39.4)	86	8	.04	0.25	2	.881

*See Footnote, Table 3

**See Footnote, Table 3

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